

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 605

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIMA 5509

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PE

SUBJECT: APRA VIEWS ON THE FUTURE

1. SUMMARY: APRA LEADER TOWNSEND IS PLEASED WITH CONDUCT OF ELECTION AND APRA SHARE OF THE VOTE, ALTHOUGH PARTY SUFFERED A HEAVY SHARE OF INVALID BALLOTS. TOWNSEND SAID ARRANGING ALLIANCES WITH EITHER PPC OR FOCEP WOULD BE DIFFICULT AND SUGGESTED THE POSSIBILITY OF A "SHIFTING ALLIANCE" STRATEGY IN WHICH APRA WOULD SEEK LEFTIST OR RIGHTIST SUPPORT ON GIVEN ISSUES IN THE ASSEMBLY; THIS STRIKES US AS POTNETIALLY DANGEROUS. A SATISFACTORY MECHANISM TO LINK TO GOP WITH THE ASSEMBLY HAS YET TO BE FOUND END SUMMARY.

2. EMBOFFS DISCUSSED RESULTS OF JUNE 18 ELECTION WITH APRA CO-SECRETARY GENERAL ANDRES TOWNSEND EZCUARRA JUNE 22. TOWNSEND EXPRESSED HIS AND HIS PARTY'S SATISFACTION AT THE RESULTS OF THE ELCTION AND THE WAY IN WHICH IT WAS CARRIED OUT. HE SAID THAT TO APRA'S KNOWLEDGE THERE WERE ABSOLUTELY NO DISRUPTIONS OR DISTURBANCES, NOR ANY INTERFERENCE ON THE PART OF THE GOP OR LOCAL AUTHORITIES, EVEN THOUGH IT HAS BEEN OVER A DECADE SINCE THE LAST ELECTION WAS HELD IN PERU. HE SAID THAT APRA WAS PARTICULARLY GRATIFIED BY THE PARTY'S SHOWING ON A NATIONAL SCALE ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED IT MIGHT NOT HAVE WON MORE THAN 36 SEATS AND ASSERTED THAT PERU NORTH TO SOUTH IS "APRA TERRITORY." HE  
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REMARKED THAT THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTIONS WERE A TESTIMONY TO THE SENSIBILITY OF THE PERUVIAN ELECTORATE, THAT VIEW THE CIRCUMSTANCES (10 YEARS OF NATIONALISTIC MILITARY RULE AND SEVERE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS) THERE WAS A REAL DANGER THAT THE ELECTORATE WOULD ABANDON THE CENTER AND VOTE FOR THE LEFT, AND RIGHT EXTREMES. HAPPILY, HE SAID THIS DID NOT HAPPEN, EVEN THOUGH THE LEFT ENJOYED 7 YEARS OF "CO-GOVERNMENT" WITH THE VELASCO REGIME AND

INFLUENCE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY INSTITUTIONS.

3. TOWNSEND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT APRA DID LESS WELL IN LIMA THAN THEY EXPECTED AND CALCULATED THAT THEY WOULD END UP 5 PERCENT BEHIND PPC. HE SAID THAT SOME 200,000 APRA VOTES WILL BE ANNULLED BECAUSE OF CONFUSION IN THE COMPLICATED, ABSTRACT VOTING SYSTEM. APPARENTLY MANY APRA SYMPATHIZERS INADVERTENTLY SPOILED THEIR BALLOTS BY MARKING "C-1" IN ONE SQUARE INSTEAD OF DIVIDING IT BETWEEN THE LIST AND PREFERENTIAL VOTE BOXES. TOWNSEND EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT THAT THE ACCION POPULAR VOTE DID NOT DIVIDE MORE EVENLY BETWEEN APRA AND PPC, AS AN APRA POLL (LIMA 5283) HAD LED THEM TO EXPECT. HE ALSO QUESTIONS WHETHER BELAUNDE COULD HOPE TO RECOVER THE AP VOTE IN THE FUTURE, ESPECIALLY THOSE WHO WENT OVER TO APRA.

4. ASKED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE ASSEMBLY AND FOR COOPERATION AMONG THE MAJOR PARTIES, TOWNSEND ACKNOWLEDGED THAT A DIFFICULT TASK FACES THEM. FIRST, THERE IS LITTLE OR NO PRECEDENT AS TO HOW ASSEMBLY RULES AND LEADERSHIP SHOULD BE CHOSEN; THE ASSEMBLY WHICH DRAFTED THE 1933 CONSTITUTION OFFERS LITTLE GUIDANCE SINCE IT SERVED AS A LEGISLATIVE BODY AS WELL. IN THIS REGARD, TOWNSEND FAVORS AN INFORMAL MEETING OF PARTY REPS TO LAY THE PROCEDURAL GROUNDWORK.

5. TOWNSEND SAID THAT HAYA DE LA TORRE HAS DETERMINED THAT ANY APRA INITIATIVE OR NEGOTIATIONS REGARDING ALLIANCES OR COOPERATION ARE

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TIONS WILL HAVE TO COME AFTER THE OFFICIAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ELECTIONS RESULTS. HE DENIED THAT APRA HAD BEGUN CONVERSATION WITH PPC, AS SUGGESTED BY BEDOYA RECENTLY. APRA IS CURRENTLY TESTING OPINION WITHIN THE PARTY ABOUT COOPERATION WITH THE PPC BUT HAS THUS FAR FOUND IT FAIRLY NEGATIVE BECAUSE OF CONCERN ABOUT ASSOCIATION WITH THE RIGHT. THE FORGING OF ALLIANCES ALSO WILL BE DIFFICULT, IN TOWNSEND'S OPINION, BECAUSE NEITHER PPC NOR FOCEP (WHOM HE DID NOT REJECT OUT OF HAND) ARE DISCIPLINED HIERARCHICAL PARTIES. TOWNSEND DOUBTS IF BEDOYA WILL BE ABLE TO REALLY CONTROL AS MANY AS 10 OUT OF HIS 26 OR 27 DELEGATES. SIMILARLY, HE CLAIMED THAT FOCEP IS ONLY A LOOSE CONFEDERATION OF GROUPS HELD TOGETHER BY SIMILAR IDEOLOGY (TROTSKYITES) AND WITH POTENTIALLY CONFLICTING PERSONALITIES WHICH WILL BE DIFFICULT TO WORK WITH EFFECTIVELY. HE CHARACTERIZED PARTY LEADER LEDESMA (WHO WAS A CONGRESSIONAL COLLEAGUE IN THE 60'S) AS A TYPICAL COMMUNIST BUREAUCRAT, AND SAID THAT EX-GUERILLA HUGO BLANCO WAS UNBALANCED. OF THE PRINCIPAL FOCEP PERSONALITIES TOWNSEND CHARACTERIZED RICARDO NAPURI SCHAPIRO AS THE MOST APPROACHABLE.

6. DESPITE THE DIFFICULTIES WHICH HE FORESEES, TOWNSEND MADE THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE NEED FOR WORKING ALLIANCE IN AN ORDINARY

CONGRESS, WHERE LONGER TERM QUESTIONS OF LEGISLATION ARE AT STAKE, AND THE PRESENT CASE OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, WHERE INITIAL AGREEMENT OF RULES AND LEADERSHIP IS IMPORTANT, BUT ALLIANCES AND LIAISON CAN FLUCTUATE WITH THE NATURE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ISSUES AT STAKE. HE ENVISIONED A WELL-DISCIPLINED CENTRIST APRA BLOCK, PICKING UP SUPPORT ON THE LEFT OR THE RIGHT ACCORDING TO THE PARTICULAR ISSUE, "UNDULATING " ITS WAY THROUGH TO THE END.

7. TOWNSEND POINTED OUT THAT MORALES BERMUDEZ HAS YET TO RETRACT THE STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT IF THE DRAFTING OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WERE FINISHED AHEAD OF SCHEDULE, THE ELECTION FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT COULD BE MOVED UP. APRA HOPES THAT THIS IS THE CASE, AND UNTIL TOLD SPECIFICALLY OTHERWISE IS CONFIDENTIAL

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WORKING UNDER THIS ASSUMPTION. TOWNSEND SAID THAT THE INSTALLATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT COULD BE AS SOON AS JANUARY 1, 1980. (HE THINKS BEDOYA'S PROPOSED TIMETABLE TO TRANSFER POWER IN JULY, 1979, IS TOO AMBITIOUS.) TOWNSEND AGREED THAT THE SITUATION OF AN ELECTED ASSEMBLY SITTING ALONGSIDE A DE FACTO GOVERNMENT IS SOMETHING OF AN ANOMOLY, WITH FEW CONTEMPORARY PARALLELS OTHER THAN THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL A FEW YEARS AGO. HE FOUND THE TRAIL BALLOON OF A MINI-PARLIAMENT PROPORTIONALLY CHOSEN FROM ASSEMBLY DELEGATES TO ACT AS A LIAISON TO THE MILGOV AND TO ASSIST IN THE PREPARATION OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY PLANS AN "UNHAPPY IDEA." HE ALSO SAW THE MIXED CABINET FORMULA CURRENTLY BEING RUMORED FRAUGHT WITH POLITICAL DANGER FOR THE PARTICIPATING PARTIES, BUT CONCLUDED THAT SOME WORKING MECHANISM BETWEEN THE GOP AND THE ASSEMBLY MUST BE FOUND.

8. COMMENT: APRA IS OBVIOUSLY FEELING ITS OATS AFTER ITS SUCCESSFUL SHOWING (TOWNSEND NOTED THAT PPC AND FOCEP VOTES TOGETHER MIGHT NOT EXCEED APRA'S TALLY) AND BELIEVES ITSELF TO BE IN A STRONG BARGAINING POSITION. WHILE TOWNSEND RECOGNIZED THAT A DIVIDED, STALLED ASSEMBLY WOULD BE A DISASTER, HIS IDEA THAT APRA MIGHT ELECT A "SHIFTING ALLIANCE" STRATEGY (PARA 6) SEEMS TO US POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS TO THE SUCCESSFUL FUNCTIONING OF THE ASSEMBLY, EVEN THOUGH OF ALL THE PARTIES CONCERNED APRA HAS BY FAR THE MOST PARLIAMENTARY EXPERIENCE.  
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## Message Attributes

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